

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

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AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMCONSUL ADANA

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

AMCONSUL IZMIR

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 ANKARA 1152

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SUBJ: TURKISH VIEWS ON EEC

REF: A. 75 ANKARA 9021, B. EC BRUSSELS 1356

SUMMARY: A RECENT SERIES OF ARTICLES (FEBRUARY 2-6)
ON TURKISH-EEC RELATIONS IN TERCUMAN, A MAJOR CONSERVATIVE
TURKISH DAILY, SERVES TO FOCUS ON CONTINUING FEELING
IN TURKEY GENERALLY THAT EEC IS NOT BEING RESPONSIVE
ENOUGH TO TURKEY'S PROBLEMS. IN SERIES, TERCUMAN INVITED
DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND HEAD OF NATIONAL SALVATION PARTY,
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NECMETTIN ERBAKAN; FOREIGN MINISTER AND JUSTICE PARTY

SENATOR IHSAN CAGLAYANGIL; JUSTICE PARTY SENATOR, HEAD OF SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE AND HEAD OF EEC-TURKEY MIXED PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION, KAMURAN INAN; AND OPPOSITION PARTY, REPUBLICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY DEPUTY, AND RPP FOREIGN POLICY ADVISER HALUK ULMAN; EACH TO WRITE AN ARTICLE ON GENERAL THEME, "WHAT KIND OF MEASURES MUST BE TAKEN BY TURKEY TO MINIMIZE DAMAGES RESULTING FROM EC-TURKISH RELATIONS?" SUMMARIZED BELOW ARE RESPONSES FROM FOUR INDIVIDUALS MENTIONED IN ORDER IN WHICH ARTICLES APPEARED.

1. DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER ERBAKAN STATED THAT GOT HAD TO ADOPT CAUTIOUS POSTURE IN FULFILLING ITS COMMITMENTS UNDER EEC PROTOCOL. WHILE TURKEY WILL HONOR ITS COMMITMENT IN RAISING ITS IMPORT LIBERALIZATION LIST FOR THE EEC FROM 35 TO 40 PERCENT, SPECIFIC ITEMS TO BE INCLUDED IN LIBERALIZED LIST HAD NOT YET BEEN DETERMINED. TO ERBAKAN, AN EXPONENT OF TURKISH INDUSTRIAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY, THIS WAS CRITICALLY IMPORTANT. ONCE AN ITEM IS INCLUDED IN EEC LIBERALIZED LIST, IT CAN BE IMPORTED FREELY WITHIN CERTAIN LIMITATIONS. WHILE, FOR COMMERCIAL REASONS, FOR EXAMPLE, TURKEY "MAY FAVOR INCLUDING GRINDSTONE IN THE LIBERALIZED LIST...THINKING OF IT IN TERMS OF TURKEY'S INDUSTRIALIZATION MEANS GIVING UP THE FOUNDATION OF THIS INDUSTRY IN TURKEY FOREVER". (COMMENT: THIS SEEMS TO BE A TACIT ADMISSION BY ERBAKAN THAT MUCH OF TURKISH INDUSTRY CAN NEVER BE COMPETITIVE WITH THE EEC).

2. ERBAKAN CLAIMED THAT "IN THE 4-5 YEAR PERIOD OF EC ASSOCIATION OUR IMPORTS FROM THE COMMUNITY HAVE INCREASED FOUR-FOLD, BUT EXPORTS DECLINED". TURKEY HAS FULFILLED ITS COMMITMENTS ON CONCESSIONS, BUT "THE EEC HAS FULFILLED NONE OF THE FOUR COMMITMENTS IT MADE TOWARDS TURKEY, WHICH WERE INCREASING TURKEY'S AGRICULTURAL QUOTAS, ALLOWING FREE MOVEMENT OF TURKISH WORKERS, ACCORDING CONCESSIONS TO TURKEY AT LEAST AS FAVORABLE ARE EXTENDED TO THIRD COUNTRIES, AND EXTENDING A \$600 MILLION CREDIT TO TURKEY TO ASSIST IN COMPETITIVE DIFFICULTIES RESULTING FROM TURKISH CONCESSIONS OFFERED TO THE EEC." IF EEC WASN'T TURKEY AS A STRONG TRADING PARTNER, IT MUST BE WILLING UNCLASSIFIED

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TO MAKE THE CONCESSIONS OFFERED TO THE EEC."
IF EEC WANTS TURKEY AS A STRONG TRADING PARTNER, IT MUST BE WILLING TO MAKE THE CONCESSIONS IT HAD PROMISED TO TURKEY. TURKEY IS WILLING TO HONOR ITS COMMITMENTS, BUT, IN THE INTERIM, IS ALSO DETERMINED TO TAKE ANY MEASURES NECESSARY TO PREVENT OR MINIMIZE DAMAGES TO ITS ECONOMY WHICH HAVE RESULTED FROM EEC-TURKEY RELATIONS.

3. FOREIGN MINISTER CAGLAYANGIL SAID THAT CHANGE IN WORLD ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AS WELL AS IN COMMUNITY AND IN ITS EXTERNAL RELATIONS SINCE 1970, MEANT THAT TURKEY HAD TO RE-EVALUATE ITS RELATIONS WITH EEC. HE STATED THAT IT IS AIM OF GOT TO CLARIFY THESE PROBLEMS DURING TWO ASSOCIATION COUNCIL MEETINGS DURING THE NEXT SIX MONTHS AND TO ESTABLISH FUTURE POLICY ON A JOINT COOPERATION BASIS. THE GOT IS DETERMINED "TO GAIN A NEW ORDER AND BALANCE FOR OUR RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNITY WITHOUT LOSING SIGHT OF THE OBJECTIVES AND NEEDS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT".

4. CAGLAYANGIL FOCUSED ON THREE MAJOR TOPICS OF CONCERN IN CONTINUING EC-TURKEY RELATIONS. ALL OF THESE TOPICS WILL BE PLACED ON AGENDA OF UPCOMING EC-TURKEY COUNCIL MEETINGS. THE THREE TOPICS ARE: (1) REVISION OF QUOTAS FOR AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS TO EEC; (2) SOCIAL SECURITY RIGHTS AND FREE MOVEMENT FOR TURKISH WORKERS; AND (3) THE NEED TO FACE UP TO THE TREMENDOUS TRADE GAP TURKEY HAS WITH THE EEC NINE. REFERRING TO AGRICULTURAL TRADE, CAGLAYANGIL SAID THAT THE GOT WILL STRIVE FOR "THE ELIMINATION OF THE TREATMENT TURKEY FACES OR MAY FACE IN HER RELATIONS WITH THE EEC VIS-A-VIS THIRD COUNTRIES". IN ADDITION, TURKEY WOULD INSIST ON "A SYSTEM WHICH WILL GUARANTEE THE STABLE PROMOTION OF OUR AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS TO THE COMMUNITY". CAGLAYANGIL ADMITTED THAT SOCIAL SECURITY RIGHTS FOR TURKISH WORKERS WAS OF CONTINUING CONCERN TO THE GOT. TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER, "ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT PROPOSALS WE WILL MAKE CONCERNS ACCORDING OUR WORKERS THE MOST-FAVORED-NATION CLAUSE IN REGARD TO THE WORKERS OF THIRD COUNTRIES." CAGLAYANGIL CONTINUED WITH THE PROPOSITION THAT "THE GRADUAL FREE MOVEMENT OF OUR WORKERS IN THE COMMUNITY AS FROM THE UNCLASSIFIED

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END OF 1976 HAS BEEN PROVIDED FOR IN OUR ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT". THE GOT "CONSIDERS THE PROVISION OF THIS AGREEMENT ONE OF THE MOST VITAL ELEMENTS IN THE BALANCE OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES IN OUR ASSOCIATION WITH THE EEC".

5. A NEW PROBLEM WHICH HAS CROPPED UP IN TURKISH-EEC RELATIONS, CAGLAYANGIL CLAIMED, WAS THE GROWING TRADE GAP BETWEEN THE EEC AND TURKEY. (COMMENT: OVER 50 O/O OF TURKEY'S TRADE DEFICIT OF \$3.4 BILLION IN 1974 WAS ON TRADE WITH THE EEC). THE CONTINUATION OF THIS GAP, "WHICH IS DUE TO STRUCTURAL RATHER THAN CYCLICAL REASONS", MEANS THAT "IT HAS BECOME MANDATORY TO TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO REDUCE THIS GAP TO REASONABLE LEVELS." THE JOINT "EXPERT GROUP" WILL FOCUS ON POSSIBILITIES OF

INCREASING TURKISH EXPORTS AND WILL MAKE PROPOSALS ABOUT
HOW TO CONTRIBUTE TO GOT EXPORT PROMOTION POLICIES.

6. SENATOR INAN, WHILE ADMITTING SERIOUSNESS OF THE
PROBLEMS ENUMERATED BY CAGLAYANGIL, WAS MORE OPTIMISTIC

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2419
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BONN
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AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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ON TURKEY-EEC RELATIONS. REFLECTING PERHAPS HIS LONG
AND CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EC COMMISSION, INAN
SAID THAT DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN DEMOCRATIC FRIENDS WAS
HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT AND WOULD LEAD TO STRENGTHENED
RELATIONSHIP IN LONG RUN. INAN EMPHASIZED STRENGTH
AND COHESIVENESS OF COMMUNITY'S ECONOMIC INTER-RELATION-
SHIPS AND CONTINUING COOPERATION LEADING TO EVENTUAL

POLITICAL UNITY. INSTEAD OF CRITICIZING EEC RELATIONSHIPS WITH LOME AND MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES, AS EXAMPLE OF TURKEY'S LOSS OF SPECIAL PRIVILEGE, AS MANY TURKS ARE WANT TO DO, INAN STRESSED THAT THESE RELATIONSHIPS WERE INDICATIONS OF THE EXTERNAL RESPECT AND INTERNAL UNCLASSIFIED

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VIALITY OF THE EEC AND WOULD BE OF ULTIMATE BENEFIT TO TURKEY.

7. INAN RESERVED HIS CHIEF CRITICAL COMMENTARY FOR GREEK APPLICATION FOR EARLY MEMBERSHIP IN COMMUNITY. THE PROBLEM HERE WAS NOT EEC COMMISSION ITSELF, BUT THE INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENTS OF THE NINE. INAN MAINTAINED THAT EEC COMMISSION HAD EXAMINED GREEK REQUEST "IMPARTIALLY" AND WAS "TOTALLY NON-BIASED". HE FOUND IT ESPECIALLY APPROPRIATE THAT COMMISSION HAD SAID THAT "IT WAS NOT A PARTY TO THE GRECO-TURKISH CONFLICT AND RECOMMENDED ENCOURAGING GREECE AND TURKEY TO FIND A JUST AND LASTING SOLUTION TO THEIR PROBLEMS". GREEK INITIATIVE, HOWEVER, TO PERSUADE THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE NINE TO REJECT THE COMMISSION REPORT IS AIMED AT "PUTTING THE BURDENS OF GREECE'S CURRENT CONFLICT WITH TURKEY ON THE EEC AND TO BRING THE COMMUNITY INTO THE WATERS OF THE AEGEAN". THIS IS A TOTALLY UNWARRANTED POLITICAL ATTEMPT BY GREECE TO EXCLUDE TURKEY FROM EEC AND IF GOVERNMENTS OF THE BNINE OVERRULE THE COMMISSION DECISION"THEY WILL BE SUPPORTING THE POLITICAL AMBITIONS OF ATHENS". SUCH A STAND "WILL UPSET EEC BALANCE AND IMPARTIALITY AND WILL NOT FACILITATE THE SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT".

8. HALUK ULMAN STATE THAT 1970 ANNEX PROTOCOL MUST BE MADE MORE FAVORABLE TO TURKEY BECAUSE "THIS PROTOCOL INTRODUCES CERTAIN PROVISIONS WHICH PREVENT INDUSTRIALIZATION OF TURKEY." ULMAN INSISTED THAT NEGATIVE EFFECTS THAT ANNEX PROTOCOL IS HAVING ON THE TURKISH ECONOMY RESULTS FROM FACT THAT PROTOCOL WAS SIGNED "WITHOUT THINKING OF ITS NEGATIVE IMPACT ON THE TURKISH ECONOMY, BUT FOR POLITICAL REASONS". THE TRADE GAP, LOWERING OF CUSTOMS DUTIES, AND CONCERN IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR CAN ALL BE TRACED TO THE FACT THAT TURKEY DID NOT CONSIDER WHAT EUROPEAN COMPETITION WOULD MEAN TO ITS OWN INDUSTRIALIZATION.

ULMAN WAS ALSO CRITICAL OF THE EEC FOR NOT MEETING ITS OBLIGATIONS UNDER PROTOCOL--"UNDER THE PROTOCOL THE DATE AND DEFINITION OF HOW TURKEY WILL MEET HER COMMITMENTS ARE CLEAR. HOWEVER, THERE IS NOT A SIMILAR CLARITY UNCLASSIFIED

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CONCERNING EEC OBLIGATIONS." ULMAN ALSO CRITICIZED PRESENT NATIONAL FRONT GOVERNMENT FOR MEETING ITS OBLIGATIONS BY LOWERING CUSTOMS DUTIES FOR EEC IN 1976 WITHIN 12 AND 22 YEAR LISTS. HE INSISTED THAT THE 60TH ARTICLE OF THE PROTOCOL PERMITTED TURKEY TO POSTPONE THIS OBLIGATION IN THE FACE OF SERIOUS TRADE DEFICIT IT FACES WITH EEC.

9. ULMAN CLOSED BY STATING THAT "WHETHER ONE CONSIDERED TURKEY'S ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE EEC OR WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, THE EFFECT THESE RELATIONS HAVE ON THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF TURKEY MUST BE THE PRIME CONCERN." "IF, ON THE CONTRARY, THESE RELATIONS BECOME AN OBSTACLE TO INTERNAL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS, THE RELATIONS THEMSELVES MUST BE REVISED." ULMAN CONCLUDED THAT "SINCE IT HAS BECOME APPARENT THAT TURKISH-EEC RELATIONS TODAY HAVE SERIOUS NEGATIVE SIDE EFFECTS, THE SITUATION MUST BE RECONSIDERED AND THERE MUST BE A NEW AGREEMENT" BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES.

COMMENT: MUCH OF THIS COMMENTARY ON TURKEY-EEC RELATIONS IS NOT NEW BUT IT HAS INTENSIFIED IN RECENT WEEKS IN VIEW OF GREEK APPLICATION FOR EARLY MEMBERSHIP IN COMMUNITY. THERE HAS BEEN NO SIGNIFICANT TURKISH REACTION AS YET TO EC FOREIGN MINISTERS COUNCIL MEETING FEBRUARY 9 (EC BRUSSELS 1356). THERE ARE WIDESPREAD RUMORS OF DISAGREEMENT OVER AGENDA FOR MARCH 2 TURKEY-EC COUNCIL MEETING HOWEVER AND WE WILL REPORT ON SIGNIFICANT REACTION AND NEW DEVELOPMENTS AS THEY OCCUR.

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